

WHO, AND WHAT
IS AN
INCENDIARY?

W. H. & A. CO. LONDON

THE BRITISH MUSEUM



Pow

*From Captain Marmion to the
Right Hon. Mr. Mervyn*

WHO, AND WHAT

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IS AN

INCENDIARY?

ELECTRE SI NEQUEO SUPEROS, ACHERONTA MOVERO.

Which may be translated thus :

POWER I MUST HAVE. IF I CAN MAKE THE KING-YIELD TO
ME, SO MUCH THE BETTER ; IF NOT, I WILL HAVE
RECOURSE TO THE MOB, OR, RATHER THAN
FAIL, TO THE DEVIL.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED IN THE YEAR

1795.

WHO AND WHAT

NICHOLAS

WHICH WAS CONSIDERED THE
LARGEST ONE IN THE WORLD
AND SO MUCH THE BETTER
BECAUSE OF THE SIZE OF THE
TANK, TO THE DEEP



PRINTED IN THE YEAR

1795

WHO, AND WHAT

He abandoned a learned profession, because he did not possess understanding sufficient to be competent in it; and he betook himself to politics, where the deficiency may be better concealed under general designation.

He has been like a plague-bore to his country.

Upon a petty, local law-suit, about the Police he takes precisely the same line as upon the privileges of milliners. A Patriot covets his country, and induces them to arms and labor to rob the nation; an incendiary deals them out or rather creates their passions to his own necessities, keeping one in the have for every administration that will do him good, and the most insignificant.

When he rises in parliament, he conceals the weakness of his cause, and his ignorance of state-affairs, under a torrent of vulgar scurrility and common-place invective.

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He

He has often rendered his audience more warm, but never made them wiser.

He abandoned a learned profession, because he did not possess understanding sufficient to become a proficient in it; and he betook himself to politics, where the deficiency may be better concealed under general declamation.

He has been like a plague-fore to his country.

Upon a petty, local law-suit, about the Police, he takes precisely the same range, as upon the privileges of millions.

A Patriot observes his country's grievances, produces them at once, and labors to redress them; an Incendiary deals them out, or rather creates them, according to his own necessities, keeping one in his sleeve for every administration that does not yield to him, and always beginning with the most insignificant.

Thus

Thus, although ten years ago he might have broken the subject of the Catholics, and raised them to their present rank, he reserved it as a *bonne bouche* to this moment, when his former stock was exhausted.

A Patriot, who had derived an immense *douceur* from the favor of his country, would never have degraded himself by meddling in petty contests for situation. Proud of the rank which had been conferred upon him, he would have mediated between parties; he would have been the conservator of his country's interests; the King's friend, and the people's guardian. An Incendiary, in similar circumstances, shuffles among parties, grasps at more than he possesses; enters into partial and party views, suppresses what he knows to be useful, urges what he knows to be trivial. O thou little great man, what hast thou sacrificed to be the Leader of a Faction!

He saw his bosom friend, the man, who had returned him for this city, at the bar of the House of Commons, without making
any

any effort to protect or even to favor him. He saw the same person crushed by prosecutions; yet this indifference did not proceed from his disapprobation of Napper Tandy's principles; for, according as they suited his purpose, he severally adopted them; nor was it from the Love of Order; for he has been fifty times more seditious. He will treat his present instruments in like manner, *Hunc tu, Romane, caveto.*

He blusters about the English influence, which put himself out, but not a word about that more degrading influence, which handed over this country to the P——y family, (merely because their cousin had coalesced with the minister in England) as a sort of marriage-portion or inheritance.

He kept the Whig Club dormant, while he was in power; and when he was sinking, called it again into action; Thus George the 1st was said to have considered Hanover, as a refuge in case of misfortune.

He

He has overturned as many Governments as the great Earl of Warwick, but with this difference, the one did so by his power, as an antagonist; the other, by his absurdity, as an adviser.

Cæsar could not have spoken, of the decrees of his supple senate, with more arrogant confidence than our dictator, when he mentions the measures adopted by the Parliament of Ireland. *He*, to the exclusion of every other member, would be the channel of communication between the Legislature and the People. *He* would pass the Catholic Bill. *He* procured an armed force, and a supply; as if we were to open our ports to Pichegru, unless this gentleman were minister.

N. B. The friends of this faction are very vociferous in their claim of merit from the force and money voted in this session. What would they have said, if they had ruled Ireland, at the time the militia was organized? Except the 200,000l. granted towards

towards manning the navy, every shilling was provided for matters of absolute, domestic, undeniable necessity. The very same steps would have been taken, under any set of men, who were placed at the helm of Ireland. And even the navy bounty would probably have occurred to other persons, and been adopted, so generally was the nation sensible, after Lord Howe's victory, that the marine force was our best protection, and ought to be put on the most perfect footing.

Now hear, a few plain truths, of which these gentlemen are probably not ignorant. There was not any degree of weight annexed to their persons, when they undertook the government of Ireland for Lord F. They were even sinking in the public estimation. Some popular favor follows them at present. They have induced the Catholics to believe, that they have suffered for their adherence to that cause. They attempted, (it has long been their object,) to establish in Ireland a cabal government, which, even in despite

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of the King, should possess the emoluments, the patronage, and direction of public affairs in this country. The Catholics were deluded to forsake the King, their ancient ally, and to become the basis of this ambitious project. Having combined their cause with the designs of a faction, it must be expected that when the one is baffled, the other shall suffer a temporary inconvenience.

All the anarchists, all the enemies of the connexion with England, applaud the grand mischief-maker, whom they are delighted to make use of; the agitation of the public mind may perhaps create an occasion favorable to their purpose; at least in the heat of passion and discontent they may acquire profelytes. In short, they make of this man that species of tool, which he thinks to make of them. They now follow him, but woe betide him when he shall think of checking their career. Possibly they may consent to be in his suite, whilst he leads them forward.

He

He proposes to carry a measure in Parliament, and induces the men, whom he professes to serve, to insult every other Member.

On this affair of the Catholics, his present sheet-anchor, he wanted either honesty or discernment. Was he unable to discover the interest of Ireland on this head? Or, being sensible of what he has since so forcibly expressed, why did he not direct thither the public attention? Why did he not adopt the cause of the people, instead of his shuffling Place-bill, about which he declaimed so much, and which we now perceive to be no more than a political harlequinade, putting a man out at the back door, to come in at the front with greater éclat?

I can answer these questions: because he has uniformly consulted his temporary convenience, not justice, or the public advantage.

He spoke against allowing the Roman Catholics landed security for their money, when

when fashionable to do so; he veered with fashion, and joined in the guarded concession of civil rights.—He again joined in the question of political rights, when he perceived himself standing upon sure ground, and that he could not risk his personal concerns. But he higgled, off and on, according as he imagined that he could procure an interest for himself, and embarrass his opponents.

At one time he exclaims, ‘Perish the Empire; live the Constitution;’ at another, he renounces, on the part of that Constitution, any right of controul over the general policy of the Empire, of which we form a part; more particularly with respect to the causes and conduct of a war, to which we furnish a liberal contingent.

By this means a single county of England has more weight than the Irish nation; for the Representatives of every village in it, possess that privilege of enquiry and inspection, which is in this instance denied to us all.

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Quere:

Quere: For what reason did we reject the commercial advantages of the propositions? Was it not because we refused to admit a superior to our Parliament? Wise nation, which flew into a rage when another Legislature proposed to purchase, on advantageous terms, the partial regulation of your trade; but applauds the man, who, without any equivalent, save to himself, surrenders all right of controul over the making of war, peace and treaties, which affect your foreign trade, your domestic manufactures, the repose of your country, the lives and fortunes of your citizens. Is this man consistent? No; but he wishes to keep a loop-hole for consistency, to declaim against the war, when he shall have quarrelled with the Minister.

If you do not think, as I do, said Lord Peter, G-d damn you! and not unlike has been the conduct of our hero. When in power he treats with the most overbearing contumely whoever dares to oppose him; witness the famous resolution proposed

posed by him in 1782, ' That, whosoever should, in print or otherwise, maintain an opinion, different from his own, was an enemy to his country : ' witness this very session, when he publicly told a Member of Parliament that he made *seditious speeches* ; as if he wished to enjoy a monopoly of sedition, or that his idea of it, resembled a certain divine's definition of true belief, " Orthodoxy is my own doxy, and heterodoxy is another man's doxy. "

He imported his Lord Lieutenant, and placed him immediately in a strait waistcoat, to render him more tractable, and frighten away all, but those, who were designed to be his keepers.

He undertook to conduct the Administration of Ireland for that Nobleman ; and lo ! the dexterous management : He sent off his friend in three months, having first rendered him a Pasquin, round which all the Jacobins hung libels against the Royal Prerogative. He went covered with the applause of every irreclaimable Republican

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in Ireland, and furnished with certificates of civism from the ci-devant Members of the suppressed Societies of United Irishmen of Belfast, Newry, and Dublin.

When he perceived the King graciously disposed to confer a favor on his people, he set off post to forestal the credit of the concession, mingling the public welfare with his electioneering policy; forcing himself in between the Sovereign and the subjects, and endeavouring to render all that is great and sacred in the land, subservient to his paltry projects.

Property had been rendered secure and was enjoyed in peace, when the Earl of Westmoreland resigned the government of Ireland. — If there was disaffection, it was repressed; if there were pretensions unsatisfied, they were urged with decency and moderation.

The succeeding viceroy formed his cabinet of selfish men; who, having been long
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in opposition, acquired that degree of favor, which the restless, the malignant, the peevish, and the disappointed are ever ready to confer upon those, who censure their rulers, and endeavor to obstruct the exercise of authority, "those, who go about to tell men, that they are ill governed, shall never fail to procure hearers."

These statesmen of the Dublin Evening Post, virtuous and wise, by the courtesy of Ireland, found turbulence discredited, they have given it importance; they found disaffection in disgrace, and discontent almost annihilated; encouraged by their conduct, every factious spirit stalks unappalled, and menaces Revolution. In print the portentous apprehension, in society the significant shrug may be only designed to create alarm; but observant men will think these proceedings most likely to realize that prediction, of which the accomplishment appears to be deprecated; and rash men may suppose them calculated to produce that effect.

Never

Never was a nation farther removed from serious disturbance, than Ireland, when a second Neckar took the reins of government; he has since denominated it a "distracted, and discontented country;" the favorites of the Castle created distraction, and then set out, with the viceroy after them, to tell in England their doleful ditty, like the melancholy Doctor, going home with his work, at his patient's funeral.

Such are the men, who make Jacobinism Right Honourable. They were tried on the independence of Ireland, and found selfish, weak, and futile; and still there are adherents ready to venture with them on a second experiment. Unless they be checked, they will go on making us so very free, that the country will become uninhabitable; as, ascending the mountain of Teneriffe, you arrive at length where the atmosphere is too pure to breathe in.

Such

Such are the men, for whom this nation was to pay nearly Ten Thousand per annum, merely that it might have the honor to be governed by them. In this anecdote Mr. Paine's story of the Norman, who asked 30,000l. for his proposal to reign over America, may find a counterpart

THE END.



and the man whom the writer
saw nearly the first time
and that night he was the
owner of them in the second
time of the woman who
and good, but he failed to
of America had a candidate



